

192 is appointed, the owners of several heads of cattle must present him with
431 a cow. The abagaragu can, but are not obliged to, do likewise.

231 3) When the king or an umutware dismisses or despoils a chief, the
abagaragu of the new chief can also each give him an indabukirano.

The Bahutu give goats, sheep, and hoes. [57]

192 INTORE. 1) Like the king, certain great chiefs possess a corps of
231 intore (dancing pages) (1) (2). A rich Mututsi's child who goes to a

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1. From gutura, "to take," or gutorana, "to
levy," "to choose."

2. Cf. Government and Administration, The
Intore, p. 78.

provincial chief to become a page brings him a y'intore cow, which is
given to the umutware y'intore (commander of the pages), who thus be-
comes in a way the shebuja of the child's father. The latter however
is not held by any bond like an ordinary client.

192 2) Also called intore are the cows given compulsorily by the
231 abagaragu to a noble Mututsi who succeeds his father as head of the
651 family.

3) Tax paid in cows.

INGORORANO (3). Cow given to reward a warrior for his courage

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3. From kugurorera, "to gratify."

or for a service rendered. Whoever has cared well for the master's cows
(inyarulembo) or ingarigari) or who has cultivated his fields well may re-
ceive a cow. To reward the umutware w'intore for his instruction, the
father of a page also gives an ingororano.

192 UMUHETO. A cow taken with a bow and arrow (umuheto). This
231 used to be war booty. In the past this name was also given to the tax paid
227 by warriors.
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IMIGOGORO (4). A cow sent every day to the white people to

4. From mogogoro, "fatigue," "annoyance,"
"imposition." Before the Belgian occupation
these cows were called imbyukuruke (lit., parade).

12. Succession of Command

635 Like the royal office, the position of provincial chief is hereditary. It is assigned by the chief to one of his sons whom he considers most worthy to succeed him. It may happen that he may at the same time become chief of the clan, but it is not always so (1); for the family and the clan are social entities that are distinct

1. Cf. the example quoted in Personal Status, The Head of the Family and of the Clan, p. 6.

from political units.

The new chief must come and announce his father's death to the Mwami, bringing him a yo kubika cow, (lit., which announces death). On the other hand, he receives some indabukirano from his people and his friends.

622 The chiefs other than the abatware are appointed by the latter and confirmed in their functions by the Mwami.

13. Taxes and Forced Labor

651 Along with the civil obligations derived from the ubugaragu
466 contract, there are others due to the chiefs as such.

A. Obligations Due to the Hill Chief.

The Bahutu who are not abagaragu of the igisonga must bring the latter once a year a large basket of sorghum (urutete) and a small basket of beans (ipfukire). Formerly, they were also required to cultivate the chief's fields (ubuletwa or uruharo) (2), to build and main-

2. In 1924 this custom was modified by the authorities in order to improve the lot of the Muhutu, who now give only two days of work out of seven.

tain each a part of the chief's ruko (kubak'inkike), and to act as messenger (gutumwa). Finally, the igisonga keeps a group of five

466 [101] men (intizo) for his personal needs and puts the remainder at
651 the disposal of the provincial chief, who uses them either for building or repairing ingo belonging to the Mwami or his family, or else for work on the roads, etc.

The forced labor of kubak'inkike and gutumwa falls also on the simple Batutsi who are not the chief's clients (1).

1. The Batutsi obviously unload these obligations on their servants or their clients.

The chief's Bahutu and Batutsi abagaragu do not owe the ubuletwa. They are called ibyangamibiyizi (lit., those who refuse work). But they must bring the urutete and the ipfukire. In addition, the forced labor of kubak'inkike and of gutumwa falls on them also(2)

2. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 49.

by virtue of the ubugaragu contract.

All the Bahutu must in turn watch each night in the igisonga's rugo (okulalira) and provide the necessary wood for heat and cooking.

- B. Obligations Due to the Provincial Chiefs and the Abachibiri.

The Bahutu who are not abagaragu owe them the urutete, the ipfukire, and also the ubuletwa for every two days out of seven. When the performance of this last obligation is difficult or even impossible because of the distance, the Bahutu replace it by bringing the produce of their cultivations (sorghum, peas, beans, Eleusine, and cush-cush). This tax is called ibihunikwa (lit., that which is put in the granary).

The Bahutu clients are only subject to the urutete and the ipfukire.

651 The ordinary Batutsi have the obligations of kubak'inkike, gutumwa, and kubyukurutsa, that is to say, of giving cows called imbyukuruke (2)

2. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 49.

65/ [102] Those who are abagaragu, unless they have a dispensation, must bring to the chief the uretete and the ipfukire.

The ibisonga [sic] are charged with the collection, in each umulyango, of the taxes in kind due respectively to the abatware and the abachibiri.

The inhabitants of Nduga and Marangara, provinces that are the appanage of the present-day Mwami, owe him and him alone, the tax because he is chief of the province.

C. Obligations Due the Mwami.

These obligations have the generic name of ikoro ry'Umwami.

The Bahutu have to bring the king the ikoro ry'ubutaka (lit., land tax), including the urutete and the ipfukire, on which the chiefs collect a tithe (umusogongerero). Those who are his direct clients are subject to, in addition [to the above], either the ubuletwa or the ibihunikwa.

The Batutsi are subject to the kubak'inkike, the gutumwa, and the kubyukurutsa. Those who are the Mwami's abagaragu must in addition, unless they are exempt, provide the urutete and ipfukire. The taxes in kind intended for the Mwami are collected by the chiefs from the people under their administration.

The provincial chiefs have the obligation to live at Nyanza for some time in order to attend the court there, and the king is apt to keep them waiting sometimes for several months before dismissing those with whom he is displeased. They are also obliged to bring cattle to the Mwami, particularly some inkuke (1), one indwanyi (2),

1. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 42.

2. Cf. idem, p. 43.

one ibiniha (3), and some intorwa (4).

3. Cf. idem, p. 43.

4. Cf. idem, p. 43.

●651

The king also has the right to a certain percentage of the heads of game (gusogongera). In the past the Mwami also collected a certain number of cows [103] (iminyago) out of those acquired during wartime raids.

Some of the natives are subject only to the ingabo. This is the case of the artisans, hunters, and farmers who provide the king and the Court with bows, arrows, pruning knives, mats, skins, drums, honey, hydromel, etc.

The Batwa are subject to no actual fiscal obligation to the king and chiefs. Potters must only furnish pots and pitchers to the court and provide the Mwami, his wife, and the Umugabekazi with ingobyi. They are also the executors of the king's great undertakings. The hunters' payments consist of ivory, skins, and fragrant wood.

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Punitive sanctions are provided in the case of nonexecution of these obligations. The hill and provincial chiefs as well as the king have the Bahutu cudgelled and take the cows away from the Batutsi. In the past, the Mwami would even sometimes have the Batwa executioners cut off the ears (kubiha) of the Bahutu who are delinquent in tax payment.

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A toll (ihoro) is paid by those who cross any water. To cross a larger river such as the Nyawarongo, the tax is paid to the provincial chief who refunds some of it to the boatmen.

Merchants must also pay a toll to the chief whose territory they cross. [104]

14. Secret Societies

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The sect known as the Nyabingi (or Biheko) has its origin in the name of the Queen of Ndurwa who was killed by the warriors of Mwami Rwabugiri, resulting in a marked hostility to the Batutsi and the royal authority on the part of the Queen's descendants. Also, these people have become Bahutu by their marriages with commoners. These are sufficient reasons for the "Baheko" [sic] to be considered rescuers by the Bahutu, especially in the north of Ruanda where the resistance, if not the hostility, to the Batutsi and their administration is much stronger than in the rest of the country.

From Ndurwa where it originated, the sect spread out to Buberuka, Mulera, Bugoyi, and even to Buganza and Bwanachyambwe.

241 Urundi and Ruanda where water is abundant, crowned cranes,
136 spore geese, and Nile geese are the worst enemies of the crops
since they eat the young budding sprouts of beans, sweet potatoes,
pumpkins, millet, etc. The Bahutu try to frighten them away
by rattles and shouting. Ibises, herons, and golden plovers also
abound in the swamp valleys, but they do not attack the green
crops and prefer to fish for frogs, worms, and snails in the
drainage ditches. In the dry quartzite regions of eastern Urundi
there are only a few such swamp valleys, and consequently there
are only a few of the noxious birds mentioned above.

251 Harvested produce is partly kept in baskets and sacks in
the huts, but most of it is put in the basket-shaped storage huts
mentioned above (p. 22) which are located near the living huts.
Particularly beans, sorghum, and corn are stored in these basket-
like huts. However, during the dry period ears of corn are sus-
pended in large bundles from the fig trees surrounding the
homestead. The tuberous fruit, namely, sweet potatoes, yams,
manioc, and arrowroot, are usually not piled up but are left in
the ground until they are needed. This is another reason why the
quantity grown is never large, since it would spoil otherwise.

423 I mentioned before that further expansion of agriculture in
Urundi is blocked by the peculiar conditions of ownership. The
situation here is quite similar to that in Ruanda. None of the
agricultural Bahutu owns the land that he cultivates. All the
land is the property of the king who vests his high batwale with it,
who in turn vest the lower Batussi batwale (see p. 134). The
mutwale distributes the individual lots of land to the Bahutu he
rules, who hold it in fee. [57] The Bahutu must ask his per-
423 mission whenever they intend to work a plot of land, build a hut,
651 or clear new ground for fields. They pay him a tribute of natural
products which is done only once. In addition, they pay him an
[427] annual "tithe" as a ground rent. If the annual rent is not paid
at harvest time, the mutwale may punish this tardiness by evicting
the person from the land. The mutwale may also demand extraor-
dinary tributes from the Bahutu without compensating them, for
example, presents for the head chief, provisions for the caravan
of a European passing through, etc. The gifts or payments made

423 in return by the Europeans are simply pocketed by the mutwale:
651 Misera contribuens plebs [contributing to the misery of the
people?]

311 The main interest of the Mutussi feudal lord, however, is
578 not the agricultural activity of the Bahutu but his cattle herds
and their welfare. He is, therefore, chiefly interested in
having abundant grazing land for his cattle. For this reason he
is in most cases not at all enthusiastic if the Muhutu attempts
to narrow down the already limited grazing area by clearing
new fields for cultivation. This conflict of interests, which is
of course decided by the Batussi in favor of grazing land and
against agriculture, will continue even when this big country
is some day opened to trade and commerce, and the Muhutu
can sell his agricultural produce abroad. The conflict of
000 interests will become even more pronounced than it is at pres-
ent, since the Bahutu will then attempt to increase their agri-
cultural production and to sell more. These difficulties will
only be alleviated by a thorough change in the conditions re-
lating to pasture land and a partial shift to growing concen-
trated fodder and stall-feeding. These are problems which
will be hard to solve in practice, but now that the central
railroad has reached Lake Tanganyika and there are plans to
increase the productivity of the contiguous large and populous
areas, our leading statesmen in charge of colonial affairs will
have to spend much thought on these questions. In the end it
will be necessary to attack the fundamental evil pressing heavily
upon these areas and retarding their development: the rule
of the Batussi. For this purpose, however, more force is neces-
sary than is available to us at present. If the colonial troops
are not increased, the central railroad will nevertheless make
it possible to concentrate military power more quickly than
heretofore. Finally, the Bahutu will be with us against the
Batussi when they realize that we are stronger than the latter.

241 At the end of this review of Barundi agriculture I shall
792 mention briefly a few religious customs connected with it
(No. 19, pp. 20-21). The local head chief of each of the
large feudal districts or provinces gives the order for the

484 purchase the skins of black and white colobus /monkeys/ (inkomo) which
825 are used to make the court outfit (inkindi) so dear to the court pages
(intore).

648 For a long time the Hamites of Ruanda maintained good neighborly relations with the more humble kings of the Karagwe and Uswi, with whom they exchanged courtesies.

The same did not apply to Urundi, which forms the southern and southeastern border of Ruanda. In spite of their common origins and language, the two lands were frequently at war. Urundi, however, often served as an asylum for people banished from Ruanda.

439 The Banyarwanda /Banyaruanda/ never stopped trading with the Congo tribes, who supplied them with hoes and rings of vegetable
[301] fiber /23/ called ubutega which are worn by the women around their legs as ornaments (1).

1. Whether black women dress sumptuously or niggardly, they all show a great love of ornaments (Maurice Delafosse).

This fiber is taken from a small tree (intunda) which grows only in Masisi territory. Its purchase gives rise to constant comings and goings between that territory and Ruanda. The bark of yet another plant called isiha is used to make rings of lesser quality which are not as much in demand.

436 Butega are looked upon as ornaments and riches, and they are
651 used as currency. The Banyarwanda, lake-shore dwellers and neighbors of Masisi, were assessed in butega as taxpayers. Every year each clan had to supply several thousand to the queen mother, who used them for herself, her /female/ attendants, and her slaves.

301 It is not unusual to meet Batutsi ladies wearing hundreds of rings around their legs. These ornaments are piled on each other up
[481] to the knees, and lend their wearers a slow and very ungraceful gait.

[556] A wealthy woman's wardrobe includes several thousand butega.
[691] Their purchase occasions indebtedness which frequently gives rise to lengthy lawsuits and disputes.

644
[682] violent death when they least expected it. This was for a long time a sword of Damocles which almost invariably fell upon the head of those who had the misfortune of being selected for that unenvied position.

We shall cite, later on, a few examples of this.

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● 651 B. The cupbearers (abanyanzoga), like their colleagues in the royal dairy and kitchen, also practiced a dangerous trade. Their duties involved the obtention of the best beer available, which they had to preserve and to offer at the moment it was desired. They were numerous, and some of them lived near the king while others roamed the land to requisition honey, beer itself, or the bunches of bananas which are used in the manufacture of this precious beverage (1).

1. The head of the cupbearers, a certain Mutagikwa, is regarded thereby as captain of the Indengabaganizi army corps. This is a strictly honorific title, which nevertheless enables him to levy taxes in those territories where he exercises his functions as an officer of the "Cup."

He lives at Nyarugenge in Gassagara, the Buhanga.

Originally, employees in this category theoretically had rights only to bunches of bananas and honey (imitsama), and they roamed the land to obtain them (gutorana). Gradually they took on the habit of behaving like true chiefs and of demanding from the inhabitants contributions in kind, beans, sorghum, cows, etc., as well as forced labor, called buletwa. This permitted them not only to live well, but also to acquire large herds.

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276 C. There are several work groups assigned to the cultivation and preparation of the tobacco which is used by the prince. The plants destined for his use come from the Bugoyi /386/ Mata in the Marangara, and Ruyanza and Mussambiro in the Nduga, among other

438 The inhabitants of the Bugoyi, Mulera, Bussigi, Bgisha,
 451 Bufumbiro, etc., formerly supplied this substance¹ as a tax under the
 name of umutsama (plural imitsama).

438 The people of the Kinyaga, dwellers on the shores of Lake
 463 Kivu, made strong mats (ibisunyu) of lake reeds for the court.

People from the Bgishaza, Kingogo, Budaha, etc., made
 litters, baskets, and hampers of various shapes because they lived
 close to the forest where the materials essential to their craft are to
 be found.

463 Dressing cases, combs, butter jars, dishes, spoons, pitchers,
 651 pipes, tobacco pouches, bows, arrows, shields, quivers, spear shafts,
 clubs, scabbards, cases for knives and drinking tubes, drums, chairs,
 etc., were all made by professionals who paid their taxes in this
 fashion.

644 In accordance with an immemorial custom, the king chose
 himself a wife from each of the following Hamitic clans: /458/ Bega,
 Basinga, Bakono, Baha, and sometimes also among the Bagessera,
 not to speak of those who were referred to him on account of their
 mental or physical qualities. He contracted matrimonial alliances
 with the neighboring princes of the Uswi, Karagwe, and Bunyabungu,
 but no son of those foreign princesses, to our knowledge, ever sat on
 the throne. Few royal wives managed to retain their husband's good
 favors indefinitely. Many of them were demoted to the rank of
 servants (abaja), if not sent back to their families (1).

1. This was the best they could
 hope for, since then they regained
 their complete freedom.

Some chiefs were bound by custom to send regularly to court
 some little girls, who were raised among the queen-mother's followers.
 The lot of those children was a rather unhappy one. Some of them
 when grown were chosen as servants or as symbolic wives offered to
 the spirits of dead kings (2).

2. Cf. Chapter VII below
 under "Funeral Rites."

h[er], happy. -Analyst]

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Others were entrusted with the manufacture of baskets, hampers, mats, and other fine basketry.

Sebugrigi (deceased in 1925), the representative of the great chief Rwidegembya in the Bigogo province, had to supply annually two or three of those children, who were euphemistically known by the name of "pages" (intore) or "outgoers" (emigrants) chosen by fate (inkuke).

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Nyiramurici (deceased in 1927), a Muhunde /Hunde/ from the Gishari and a close relative of the queen of that land, came to pay homage to the Hamitic prince of Ruanda. As a reward for his services as a sorcerer, he was given three villages (Gassovu, Gatoke, and Nyaruchundura) located in the Kanage, with the sole obligation of handing to the queen mother /459/ any girls he might father or obtain among his subjects (1).

[65]

1. This obligation has always been regarded as a hateful one. As a rule parents were loath to surrender their offspring and complied only under duress. Sometimes they managed to elude this exorbitant tax by giving the chief one or even several cows. The chief also took advantage of this power to tax only his enemies or to extort several head of cattle from them under this revolting pretext.

In order to gain the good graces of the king or his mother, certain families freely gave up their children, boys or girls. The lot of the adolescent boys was much preferable to that of their sisters. Once grown up, after serving for a time in the page corps, they regained their freedom and were often granted the rule of a hill as a reward for their sojourn at court.

2. Other Favors and Privileges

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644 a. "The gift of the fire cow" (inka y' umuriro). This is when the king sends a cow to a chief who has been stripped of his property or who has been in disgrace for some time. It is tantamount to a reconciliation.

This privilege grants the man who had been ostracized or banished permission to settle definitively on granted land and to build there like anyone else.

The gift of the cow, which is a sign and proof of forgiveness, also heralds further favors.

The last two beneficiaries of royal clemency were Musinga's maternal uncles, Lukangamiheto and Luhinankiko, whose ambition and political activities had /469/ greatly displeased the queen mother and the regent Kabale, creator of the bloody Ruchunchu revolution. They regained their rank and position at court.

661 b. Entrance rights (ilembo). This favor is highly valued by those to whom it is granted. It consists of receiving, in lieu of the king, the gifts of material goods and herds which are daily offered to the prince. Hence the expression, "to proceed to or place oneself at the entrance to the Court" (kuja kw' ilembo ry'ibgami) so as to take over the gifts and cows which subjects bring to their sovereign. This is a temporary privilege that is granted only for a few days and never more than two or three months to the same individual.

651 c. Ubulenga nzira is a sort of tithing right which the king and great chiefs grant to individuals whom they wish to reward. The holder of this right may levy a tax on the inhabitants of the territory over which the chief or king has jurisdiction. He gets cows and produce as long as the concession is not revoked.

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721 d. The right to levy a cow wherever one spends the night (kurar'inka) is largely granted in times of war, on the way out and on the way back.

702 It is a good device to recruit soldiers, who greatly valued this privilege and made use of it both in friendly and in enemy territory.

e. Ubutumwa ("message"). The "right of message" grants the king's envoys the right to demand a cow from the recipient of the message. Instances are cited of men who managed to assemble fine herds thanks to their job as royal couriers.

36/ independent man lives with his women, children, and servants
[55] (bagaragu). The establishments of the well-to-do are quite large and often embrace a dozen or more huts. Poor people have only one or two huts. The large settlements of the Batutsi, with the exception of those in the northwestern provinces, are all widely scattered in the grasslands and are conspicuous by the tall euphorbia hedges and trees which surround them.

In eastern Mpororo scattered huts occur only in the cultivated areas; they occur somewhat more frequently near large Bahima kraals, as, for example, that of Kitaraya. South of Kitaraya, Batutsi settlements hidden behind their euphorbia hedges predominate. On Lake Mohasi the scattered Bahutu settlements and their banana groves again appear. Here Batutsi kraals are rarer.

In Kissaka and Nduga there are Bahutu settlements on the edges of the banana groves, but since bananas are confined to specific regions because of soil conditions, a certain concentration of settlements has come about.

[31] Around Nyanza, the residence of Musinga [king of Ruanda], we find few and widely scattered settlements, because the land is reserved as pasture for the king's cows.

In Mulera where the entire country is under cultivation, there is again a regular distribution of farm settlements. However, we also note a tendency for relatives to move closer together for safety.

In Bugoye, which shows influences of the Forest Bantu, we find many compact groups of huts almost resembling villages, although these settlements vary a great deal in their structure. Here the hill dwellers, from whom their mugabo [clan elder] collects taxes which he hands over to the proper mutware (ku butaka, ku muheto, etc.), have all joined together in a single settlement. [200] In Bugoye we find settlements of over 100 inhabitants. The largest settlements are in Bgisha, north of the chain of volcanoes. They sometimes have over 100 huts.

The Banyabungu also live in large villages which are very well kept and have high fences. (1)

614 endangered by his plans for dividing his property, for instance,
627 if he impoverishes several of his sons, the clan often steps in,
428 overrides his decision, and apports his estate in a way that
seems to it more suitable. With the disintegration of the clan
and the increased power of the chief, this power passes to him,
and he has the final word.

614 The rights of the individual are always sacrificed to the
423 interests of the clan. In Bugoye I even heard that all the clan
property is re-apportioned if the fields have become concentrated
in the hands of a minority. This re-apportioning, I was told,
is called kutshura hasi.

614 At present, under increased taxation and the Batutsi supremacy,
651 it is said that sometimes clan members who cannot pay their
taxes are driven out and even replaced by outsiders. The latter
then participate in the tax payments which are made in common.
Such instances are possible, of course, only when clan organiza-
tion disintegrates.

614 The clan also protects its women. If there are daughters
in a household who have no guardian after the death of their
father, they are taken into their brother's house as paternal aunts.

614 The protection of female clan members does not extend to
591 their husbands, however. If husbands settle with their wife's clan
762 without being adopted, they are not regarded as equals. This
happens primarily when a widow and her children remain with
members of the husband's clan and she takes a man into the house.
The latter can simply be driven out after the woman's death.

671 In Bahutu Ruanda, society does not protect the weak. The
624 [235] individual who is on his own, not protected by any group,
178 is without legal rights and can be oppressed and even slain by any-
one. Such attacks are not punished here. In the oppression of the
defenseless, they see nothing anti-social since actually it achieves
better organization. This is the principal means by which the
unyielding masses are united into well-organized groups. Here we
cannot fail to recognize the connection between the development
of the clan system and the absence of general legal norms. That
is why the disintegration of clan organization caused by the Batutsi
is accompanied by the establishment of universal norms, despite
all the despotism that accompanies conquest. Now the individual

644 traveling basket with small white beads. For two years his people had to gather these beads, [258] a ransom which was designed not to increase the delight of the subjects with their master. When he saw that the basket was being filled too quickly, the king decided that the cure for the man's attitude was not sufficiently complete and made him fill a storehouse (kigega) with hoes. Only then did Musinga permit him to go home.

644 Thus, next to the splitting up of property, the sojourn at court is the most important factor in the organization and stabilization of the Ruanda state. To a certain extent this ensures against all eventualities. As long as the chief, the most important person in his territory, remains at court, the king holds all the chief's lands in his own hands to a certain extent.

65 The local taxation system is also closely connected with the sojourn of the bagaragu at court. The high chiefs must give the king gifts as large as possible in order not to lose favor. On the other hand, they must not demand too much of their people who might otherwise move away. This restricts them in two directions. It is left to them to strike a balance between these two factors, and the result is that the individual personality of the chief plays a much greater role than is the case in corresponding positions in our modern state.

644 The Royal Court. The court of the king consists of the representatives of the aristocracy, who make up a large majority of his bagaragu and hold various offices, and all kinds of minor officials who serve the ruler. The feudal lords and their retinues make up the bulk of the population of Nyanza, but they come and then go back again to their holdings when the king gives his permission. Thus, the size of the court fluctuates considerably. During the visit of His Highness the Duke of Mecklenburg there was great excitement at Musinga's court, and the whole courtyard in front of the house was always full of people. Taps were postponed accordingly, and one usually did not hear them until around two o'clock in the morning, sometimes even later.

This, however, was not the usual picture of life at court. Everyone was so worn out by all the festivities that after the departure of His Highness the courtyard was quite empty. When I came to call the day after the expedition had departed, I did not find a single chief paying court to the king.

565 [262] The privileged class consists almost entirely of Batutsi. Among the lower officials, represented by the community headmen, there are quite a number of Bahutu, especially in Bugoye. In Mulera and Bgisha there are Bahutu even among the lords of the king. The officials are commonly called batware (plural).

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701 Next in rank are the warriors (ngabo). They are placed under particular chiefs and perform no work in the chiefs' fields. In other words, they occupy their own land which their ancestors took possession of and cleared generations ago. After the Batutsi conquest they were not driven from their land, and the king recognizes their privileges. They pay only the ordinary taxes, but they must always be ready for war. On them rests the burden of the blood tax, from which the ordinary farmers (biletwa) are, at least theoretically, exempt.

Membership in the corps of ngabo is hereditary, but a person can be ousted from this privileged class as a punishment. On the other hand, I do not know whether there are cases of an ordinary farmer being raised to the position of ngabo.

[714] The insignia of the ngabo is the kigomero, the wooden ring which protects the archer against the recoil of the bowstring.

In the interior, for example, in Nduga, the ngabo are less numerous and are scattered on the hilltops among the rest of the population. There are many more of them in the border districts, and in Mulera, for instance, they make up almost the entire population.

565 Free farmers without land of their own (biletwa) make up the third class. They cultivate the land belonging to the crown and give the chief two or three days' labor out of a five- or six-day week. Besides that they must also pay taxes.

[693] The fourth class consists of the pariah tribe of Batwa. They are hunters, potters, and rain makers. They are the police and also hangmen. Chief Songore, whose principal occupation at court is torturing criminals and very skillfully thrashing them with two small sticks, is said to be a Mutwa.

567 There are also slaves in Ruanda. The institution of slavery, however, has no importance, although the number of slaves in Bugoye and among the Batutsi of Nduga is said to be very considerable. As far as I know, the slaves here are chiefly women,

631 tendencies of their fathers. Count Von Götzen (1) mentions
642

1. Götzen, Count Von, Durch Afrika
von Ost nach West [Through Africa from
East to West] (Berlin, 1899), pp. 156,
159.

only one governor of Kissaka, namely, Kavaigigi, but he also
speaks of Kaware (Kabare) in the northern part of the country.

621 The hill (kashozi) is the smallest political unit in Kissaka,
631 as well as in all the rest of Ruanda. The inhabitants of a hill
belong to different clans, and the factor uniting them is purely
political. It is primarily the chief, to whom compulsory service
[622] (buletwa) must be paid. This official is likewise appointed by
the high chief. However, the very large hills are not infrequently
divided into subgroups with different subchiefs. Thus, the hill
known as Bare in Nsasa is divided into the communities of Bare,
Ishua, Kibare, and some others.

621 In Mulera where there are very few Batutsi and these have
614 no great power, much more primitive conditions have been pre-
served. Here too, however, political units are represented by
hills, but each hill has a homogeneous population, consisting of
the members of the clan. These communities are directly sub-
[657] ordinate to the king and, through their elders, pay taxes to the
king's deputies. Here the mutware, the integrating factor, is
absent. On the few hills [269] in Mulera belonging to Batutsi,
however, we find conditions similar to those in Kissaka. Here,
[651] also, taxes are paid to the chiefs and not to the king's deputies.
I believe that the Bahutu on these hills must also render com-
pulsory service.

Ndorwa is a country that is only under nominal rule and does
not pay taxes to Musunga. We find here the same clan communi-
ties, but they are completely independent, small political units.

Besides the two extreme forms, the community settled on
alien land granted to the chief by the king, which the chief rep-
resents at court, and the free clan community settled on its own
land and paying taxes to the king's deputy but having no

59 of the king and his favorites, upon whom state affairs and interests are centered.

61 Tax System. The interweaving of landed property is not the only means of paralyzing local, particularistic aims. The system of taxation accomplishes this too. The tax burden of the farmers is divided into several units which are usually collected by different chiefs. In this instance the chiefs are only intermediaries, but they retain part of the taxes.

The taxes of the farmers consist of food, hoes, beer, animals, and work in natura.

The tax to be paid to the king is determined by the king himself. Special conditions in individual communities sometimes exempt them from transporting their produce to the capital city. Thus, for example, Issawi Hill was exempt from food deliveries to the capital because Europeans were staying there.

The tax to be paid to the chief is determined by the chief himself, but he may not overburden his people; otherwise his work force may threaten to move away. Taxes in the form of food are collected during the harvest. There is considerable local variation in the amount of taxation in Ruanda. It varies also among individual high chiefs. Thus, in Marangara, for example, the people of Nshohozamigo work two days out of a five-day week in the fields of their chiefs. The people of Rudegambia and Kabare only perform services in the capital, for example, build huts and deliver food supplies. The fields of the subchiefs are cultivated by their clients who have become subject to compulsory labor through the granting of cows, as well as by wageworkers who are paid in milk and butter. In Issawi clients do not work in the fields of their patrons.

In Ruanda there are different categories of taxes, and the people are taxed very differently.

The greatest burden is buletwa, work that must be performed in natura on the fields of the chief, a primitive great landowner. The people work [271] two to three days out of a five- to six-day week on the land of the mutware. This work is the Muhutu's payment for the land on which he has settled and is not performed by the free farmers (ngabo) who have their own land which was cleared

651 by their ancestors and from which they were not driven away during the conquest.

The second ancient burden is butaka. It is paid primarily in food and tobacco and only to a minor extent in cash hoe-money. The king's capital does not have any fields of its own. The court is fed by supplies delivered by subjects from near and distant provinces. Only cattle are pastured in the environs of the capital; there are no farmers who till land.

644
651 All the potentates living at court are fed from home. Bringing food for the chief residing at court is called kugemurira mutware. Food supplies are brought almost daily. As a result, any stoppage of this traffic means a food scarcity among the dignitaries thus affected. There are no markets where provisions could be obtained. Because of this primitive arrangement, food in the capital is always rather scarce, and everyone to whom I spoke about this told me that no one lives in the lap of luxury at court during his stay which is usually involuntary. The Batwa bodyguards even maintain that they actually starve and would very much like to return to their poor settlements.

To these two ancient tax burdens Lwabugiri added the war tax (umuheto) and Musinga the food supply tax (ilali) for visiting Europeans.

651
661 Among the Bahutu the furnishing of food supplies for visiting Europeans is merely an additional tax for the benefit of their chief. He regards the presents of the European as his property and not infrequently takes for himself part of the supplies brought by his people for the Europeans. I saw an example of this in Kwa Rutagungira. The requisition for my presence brought the chief three goats and four pots of beer, but I received only two pots and two goats. The larger pots and the best goats were put aside by the chief, but this was done too close to my camp to escape the notice of the people who were excited by the approaching pots of beer.

651
635 The collection of butaka and muheto, which are paid, theoretically at least, throughout the country, is distributed among various chiefs, as has already been reported by Von

- 651 Parisch. (1) He mentions: [272]

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1. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903 [Two Journeys through Ruanda 1902-1903], " Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), pp. 74, 78.

Province or Region	Chief (mutware)	
	<u>Ku butaka</u>	<u>Ku muheto</u>
Bugoye	Bushakwe	Bushakwe
Mukinoni	Bushakwe	Rudegambia
Bwischascha	Bushakwe	Rudegambia
Mukinjaga	Lubilinda	Rudegambia
Niantungu	Bushakwe	Kabare
(between Bwischascha and Nduga)		
Munjaga	Lujondo	Kanuma
(belongs to Nduga)		
Kawagali	Bushakwe	Bushakwe
(belongs to Nduga)		

Von Parisch also mentions the mutware ku muheto Balahanda who led the attack on Count Von Götzen.

651 The butaka, it seems, is always collected by the chief to whom the land is granted. The muheto tax, on the other hand, goes to the chief who is entrusted with the king's cattle in the district. He has the right to pasture cows on the harvested fields of the farmers, which is a very considerable burden to the population. Thus, for example, the grass on many hills in Bugoye belongs to Rudegambia, although Bushakwe is the high chief of the region. On my way to Kisenyi I saw many uncultivated fields that had to lie fallow because the Batutsi removed their cattle too late for planting.

Dr. Kandt (1) also speaks of two chiefs in the provinces. He

[113]

1. Kandt, R., "Ein Marsch am Ostufer

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[113]
des Kivu [A March along the Eastern
Shore of Lake Kivu], " Globus, Vol. 86
(1904), p. 213.

calls one the chief of the people and the other the chief of the cattle.

The ilali tax seems to be collected by special officials who at the same time are entrusted with the supervision of the Europeans who travel about the country. In some cases this office is carried out by batware ku muheto or batware ku butaka.

The amount accruing to the chiefs when they collect the taxes is called musogongero and is fixed for the butaka and muheto. For the ilali this does not seem to be the case. The amount varies from one situation to another, in proportion to the size of the caravan of Europeans that has to be provided for.

In order to describe the taxes somewhat more in detail, we herewith give the tax burden carried by the three communities on Katebe and Kitebe which we have discussed before.

[273] Taxes for the Communities on Katebe and Kitebe

	Baishaza	Balyolyo	Bagwabiwo
Population (including <u>bagaragu</u>)	104	61	41
Male clan members among these	47 + 2 ¹⁾	21	21
<u>Butaka</u> for Musinga	9 Kaniki =		
	27 hoes	10 hoes	6 hoes
<u>Musogongero</u> for Chief			
Bizira Kuzama	6 hoes	?	?
<u>Muheto</u>	3000 <u>butega</u>	1000 <u>butega</u>	1000 <u>butega</u>
<u>Musogongero</u>	3 hoes to Makobi	Goat for 5 hoes to Murahangubo	
<u>Ilali</u> (through Gamidji)	1 package of beans	Small pot of beer, basket of sweet potatoes, basket of beans	1 load of beans
<u>Buletwa</u>	none	none	none

1) Two sons-in-law.

651 The bagaragu of Chief Makobi do hoeing as recompense for rented fields, or this may be done by paid day laborers (mubizi). The clan communities under discussion, however, are free of this burden, since they live on their own land.

There are also taxes that are paid by particular families or communities. The furnishing of objects whose manufacture presupposes a certain skill falls in this category. Among these objects are salt that is made from swamp grass, grass rings for women's legs (butega), otter skins, wildcat skins, cowhides, barkcloth, weapons, etc. The people who furnish these items are exempt from part of the normal taxes that represent the share of the ordinary farmer. Thus, Mulera furnishes a rather large number of butega.

651
614 The duty of the Bahenyi, a privileged Bahutu clan, is to build royal houses. They also play a part in the cult, offering special sacrifices, and they may not eat with members of other clans.

Special taxation on individual clans seems to be a remnant of an older form of taxation, the clan tax. This has been very nicely preserved in Kiziba where individual clans have special duties toward the king. This is the nature of the taxes borne by free, landowning farmers (ngabo) in Mulera. Here the tax is the concern of the clan community. It is paid by the clan elder, and apportioning the tax is an internal matter for the community. All its members, however, have joint responsibility for paying the tax.

The ngabo pay their taxes in honey and also give the king annually every twentieth cow. If the number of cows owned is less than 20, a goat is given for each cow. In figuring taxes, one cow is equal to 20 goats.

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661 [274] In Mulera the taxes of the ngabo are collected by special deputies of the king. We need not emphasize the self-evident fact that the officials entrusted with the collection of taxes increase the amount to their advantage and do not shrink from shameful plunder. If, as is generally the case, a high chief is not present when the taxes are collected, the Balera will not stand for this oppression. For their part, they seek every opportunity to get out of paying taxes altogether. That is why there are big rows

651 and not infrequently open battles whenever collection takes place.
661 On the way to Mulera, at Kwa Rutagungira, I saw several wounded Batutsi who had to pay for their zeal as officials with holes in their hides. The business efficiency of the tax collectors is well characterized if we note their habit of substituting some of their poorer stock for the better cows that are delivered as the king's taxes. In view of its chronic character, this misuse and plunder must be regarded as a form of official remuneration.

651 We must emphasize the fact that in Mulera the taxes of the ngabo are linked to the community, the people, and not to the land they cultivate. That is why the outsider who has settled on alien soil with the approval of the residents does not participate in community taxes. He continues to pay the taxes of his own clan, and only if he is adopted by the resident clan does he pay taxes where he has settled.

651 This principle of family tax becomes complicated the mo-
178 ment pacification makes possible the disruption of clans which under the most primitive conditions have been held together by blood revenge. I saw the consequences of this complication of social conditions in Mulera in the form of a punitive expedition which reduced to ashes the settlement on Mount Kisseke. A few outsiders had bought with gifts permission to settle on Kisseke from the established residents. A few weeks after they were settled, some Batutsi arrived who had the right to collect taxes from the community of new settlers but who were complete strangers to the old established population. The new settlers
[687] promised the old ones a bull, and the latter drove off the Batutsi with weapons, killing a few and wounding several. A punitive expedition of government troops, undertaken because of Musinga's complaint, was the sequel.

651 The ferry toll is a special tax that affects traders particularly.
491 It is collected by batware who are stationed at the ferries and whose people run the boats. The toll is very high. For a traveler with his pack, it is ten large beads, that is to say, a third of a day's wages. Twenty men with a herd of goats paid a piece of cloth (nguo).

[275] The batware who collect the ferry toll must also keep watch over the traffic. At the border ferries, for example, on

651 the Akanjuru which can be crossed at only a few places because
491 of the swampy condition of its channel, it is their duty to prevent
the natives from leaving Ruanda without the king's consent. It
is obvious that under these conditions the ferry tolls are sometimes
increased very considerably.

651 A further burden affecting the trader is the market tax, indamu.
443 In Nyundo it was very high, 10 to 15 percent of the value of the
article traded. Here Lwakadygi, Gamidji, and Makobi took turns
collecting the tax.

The result of this high tax is that small auxiliary markets
are set up along the paths near the markets. Here transactions
are tax free. The chiefs who collect the indamu also settle dis-
putes that arise in the markets.

651 Ivory from slain elephants and leopard skins are the property
of the king and must be sent to Nyanza. The regulation requiring
leopard skins to be delivered seems to be connected with the be-
lief that after their deaths the members of the family of Ruanda
rulers become leopards.

721 Military Affairs. The king makes all decisions concerning
643 war and peace. He wages war in order to punish rebellious vassals
or to win over vassals of other kings.

701 The troops are made up of ngabo. They are divided into
contingents, the names of which are independent of the names of
the provinces or of the chiefs who happen to be in command.
Lieutenant Von Parisch (1) mentions the Bangogo contingent under

1. Parisch, F. R. Von, "Zwei Reisen
durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903 [Two
Journeys through Ruanda 1902 to 1903], "
Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 77.

Ruenankiko (Ruidangigo) and the Lujango contingent under Kabare.

Usually only a few contingents are called out for military
expeditions. This was the case, for example, with the last ex-
pedition against the Mutwa Bassebia in 1906, which ended in
failure.

Generals are appointed separately by the king for each ex-
pedition. Ruhara Aramanzi was the commander-in-chief of the

Among medicine men Father Van Thiele distinguishes two ⁷⁵⁹ different professional secret societies, the bakoni and the bageiye. ⁵³⁵ who are initiated with the banga ceremony. Bageiye heal persons suffering from snake bite.

I had no opportunity to see a bageiye perform in Ruanda. ⁷⁵² When a man was bitten by a snake on the way to the Muhawura

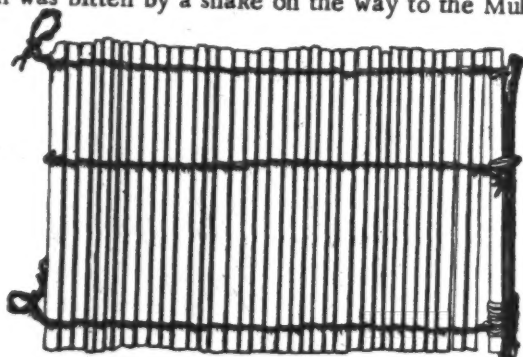


Fig. 178. Splints for Immobilizing Broken Bones, Ruanda. (1/4 actual size. III E13742. 26 centimeters long, 20 centimeters wide.)

volcano, [327] the natives wanted to tie the head of the dead snake on the wound as an antidote.

The following account by Father Van Thiele about a preventive treatment for the greatly feared disease of smallpox ⁷⁵¹ (bushita) is very interesting.

The medicine man first provides everyone with amulets consisting of gourd seeds. Even the water jug gets its amulet. Then he gives a preventive medicine which he boils. After the boiling he blows air into it through a straw so as to make foam which is rubbed all over the body. The efficacy of the medicine is increased by making incisions in five different places: three incisions over the right eye and one incision each on the right shoulder, the back, the right hand, and above the right foot. The medicine man spits on his little finger and rubs the incisions with it.

Cannibalism and Human Sacrifice. The problem of cannibal- ²⁶⁶ ⁷⁸² ⁶⁵¹ [●] ism and human sacrifice in the interlacustrine region is the most obscure and difficult of all. For example, in Ruanda the bimara,

266 the blood tax, is said to have existed until just a few years ago.
782 The Bahutu of Bukunzi in Mukinjaga once stole the cows of King
651 Ruganzu and ate them. The next morning the herdsmen found
pieces of meat hanging on spears; that was all there was left of
the animals. The criminals were recognized by their spears. As
a punishment their country was burdened with a special tax.
Every year they were obliged to deliver a maiden and a youth.
The youth was slain on the way, and his blood brought to the king;
the young girl became a muja (slave) of the king. I heard that this
sacrifice was last paid three years ago (1904) and then was dis-
continued by Musinga.

[143] Furthermore, when the king ascends the throne, a boy and
a girl are reputedly sacrificed and a drum is beaten with a human
thigh bone (1). We must not forget that in Buganda (2) human

1. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen
durch Ruanda 1902-1903 [Two Journeys
Through Ruanda]," Globus, Vol. 86
(1904), p. 77.

[113] 2. Roscoe, J., The Baganda, Their Customs
and Beliefs (London, 1911), p. 331.

beings were sacrificed in large numbers.

266 [328] Cannibalism is said to be practiced by the Batwa in
575 the north and by poisoners (balози). Koch (1) confirms its occurrence
794

1. Koch, R., "Anthropologische
Beobachtungen gelegentlich einer
Expedition an den Victoria Nyanza
[Anthropological Observations on
an Expedition to Lake Victoria
Nyanza]," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie,
1908, p. 465.

among the balogu of the western shore of Lake Victoria: "It is a
fact that at present there is still a secret order here which digs
up corpses and eats them, and for this reason the families station

634 the district chiefs formed the council of the king. The court
[693] was under the direction of a special man, a kind of steward or
inhebe.

The district chiefs were also responsible for building and other work for the king and the state; they had to find the necessary workmen and appoint overseers to direct them. Another man of the king acted as a kind of household steward to see that the buildings were kept in repair and properly attended to.

Each district chief appointed chiefs of the second rank or *Ibisonga* in his own district, and they in their turn appointed the chiefs of the third grade or *Abafragizu*. Each district chief also appointed a steward or *inhebe* who acted in his place when he had to be absent from his district. This man always possessed land near his chief so that he might be at hand when he was wanted. His special duty was to take charge of any building for the chief.

TAXATION

634 Every year a district chief had to bring two or three
651 hundred large pots of honey, each holding some two gallons, and a supply of millet, peas, and beans to the king. This was brought to the district chief by the people on his estate, and he took a portion for himself before passing the required amount on to the king.

[231] Twice in the year each person with cattle gave to the king a cow and a calf to supply him with milk and a fat animal to be killed for his meat. Milk was also sent daily to the court for the use of the king and his household.

MURDER

682 It was the duty of the relatives of a murdered man to hunt
628 down and capture the murderer and put him to death; they rarely accepted any other settlement. If a murder was committed before witnesses, they would seize the murderer and hand him over to the relatives of the dead man. If, however, one man abused another before witnesses, the offended man

and his council was composed of the high chiefs. He imposed⁰⁰⁰ taxation of honey, millet, peas, beans, cattle, and milk, and⁶⁵¹ the chiefs were responsible for any building or other state⁶⁵⁵ work he required.

The king's first meal in the morning was of milk, which he⁶⁴³ took either fresh or clotted as he preferred. At noon he²⁶² generally drank beer, but he took no other food until evening.²⁷³ when he had meat with peas, beans, or millet porridge, but he might never eat sweet potatoes. After this meal he drank either beer or milk, which shows that the people¹⁷⁸ were abandoning the strict rules of the milk diet which would have forbidden his drinking milk immediately after eating meat and vegetables. During the night he was roused and offered milk to drink. The favourite wife waited upon him and ate with him, and special boy attendants ate any⁶⁴⁴ meat that was left over from his meal.

The king married as many wives as he wished, suitable girls⁶⁴⁴ being added to his harem as they were found. The favourite of the moment was treated as the chief wife. These women were continually consulting medicine-men and priests, who told them whether they were going to bear children and took⁷⁸⁷ auguries to decide who would be the mother of the future king. The king often chose a prince to succeed him, and when⁶⁴³ he grew up informed him of his future and made him a partner with him on the throne. The other princes were sent to govern different parts of the country as chiefs.

When the king felt that he was seriously ill, he ended his⁷⁶² life by taking poison. When he died the news was circulated⁶⁴³ over the country. There was no rule against naming the king⁷⁶⁶ after his death nor against saying that he was dead. The whole tribe shaved their heads and all men kept apart from women during the two months of mourning. The males of cows,²³¹ goats, and sheep were also separated from their females for this time, and the udders of cows, after milking, were smeared with ashes instead of with white clay as was usual at other times. One cow was killed when the king died.⁷⁸²

A certain district was reserved for the burial of the kings,

233 in the villages near their fields; but they had to bring food daily to the place where their husbands were, for even the herdsmen did not live entirely upon milk. Cattle were never kept inside the fences enclosing the dwellings of the king or other owners, but the herdsmen had to bring milk after each milking to the owner of the herd even if the cattle were at some distance.

The men regarded their cows as their own and might sell [422] or exchange them as they thought fit, but the king claimed all the cattle in the country and might take any he wanted from any herd. The value of a cow was twenty goats and of [435] a bull fifteen goats, while a goat was valued at five hoes. A woman who had been captured in war might be restored to [727] her tribe for a payment of three cows for a woman of the better class and six goats for a peasant.

When a cow was thought to be about to calve at an inconvenient time during a journey or while grazing at such a distance that the calf would have to be carried home, the 233 825 herdsmen tied a little grass round its horns close to the head and this was said to retard the birth. When a cow which had calved did not cast the after-birth, the first milk was placed upon a stool for a time and then poured away. If the cow recovered without parting with the after-birth, the owner might not drink the milk from it but left it to the herdsmen until the cow had another calf and the placenta came away. For fourteen days after a cow calved, the milk was drunk by the herdsmen or by children and not by the owner of the cow.

[784] No taboo was attached to the navel cord of calves.

Goats were preferred to sheep, but both were reared in 231 437 large numbers, not so much for meat as in order to exchange them for cows and other necessary articles. Most men also [651] kept bees, for honey was demanded as a tax by the king and [237] was an article of food among all classes. A large pot of honey with the comb was sold for a goat, and a small pot of refined honey for two hoes.

AGRICULTURE

241 Each wife possessed a plot of land on which she raised crops to supply the family with food. Among the better classes the

421 different uses of the same thing. For instance, one person could have the right to sow a plot and to collect the harvest and another to use it for grazing purposes at another time of the year. Neither of them was considered as the owner letting somebody else use his property as a pasture or as a ground for cultivation.

423 On each pasture, cultivated plot or forest area, the king had a
643 right very similar to the *dominion eminens* of Roman law, the kind of public ownership that a State has over the land within the borders. But he had also the right to prevent, if he chose to do so, somebody from using a particular tract of land in any way at all, which amounts to saying that the mwami had over land a right potentially superior to that of anybody else. The mwami's rights could be opposed to 'private rights'. In fact, the king very rarely insisted on this use of his rights and then only when he wanted to punish somebody who was guilty of disobedience or of some other crime.

423 The land chief's and cattle chief's rights to fields and pastures
651 will be considered later in the section dealing with the administration. Suffice it to say here that these tax-collectors had the right to evict people for certain offences and to allocate land to newcomers in their districts.

423 The person endowed with rights on land for cultivation
425 purposes was the head of a family (*rugo*). Mostly these rights came
[428] to him from his father's inheritance. Sometimes, however, it was a part of the bush that he had himself cleared. If he had not received enough from his father to support his family, he extended his plot in this way with the agreement of the political authority. If, because of a dispute with his brothers, he wanted to move elsewhere and the land chief could not allocate him a field already prepared at the place where he wanted to settle, he did the same. Such a plot was called *bukonde* as long as it was occupied either by the man who had cleared it or by his descendants. A third source of cultivation rights was the assignment by the land chief of a plot already prepared (*inkungu*). The former user of it had either to be evicted by the authority, or had left, or had died without heirs.

In the same way the family head had the right to use a certain area as pasture for his cattle either by inheritance, or by felling the trees of a tract of forest or by having it conceded by the cattle chief.

000 At the end of the nineteenth century the insu had no collective

102 THE PREMISE OF INEQUALITY IN RUANDA

622 The district was divided into hills (*umusozi*). At that level the cattle- and land-chiefs had only one subordinate, the hill-chief, *umutware w'umusozi*, whose counterpart in the present administrative organization is called sub-chief or *ibisonga*.

621 On each hill, there were usually several neighbourhoods. In
622 each, one of the family heads living there was chosen as its head by the hill-chief. He was called *umukoresha*.

(b) Taxes

651 Tributes and dues for which the land-chief was responsible
647 were: any kind of labour, usually agricultural; *uguhunika* (putting into the granary), which consisted of a certain number of baskets of beans, peas, and sorghum to be delivered at harvest time; *amavu* (bananas to be used for brewing beer). These tributes were due from Hutu. The person who provided these things was the family head who was considered as the individual producer of the *rugo*. But between him and the land-chief, there was a hierarchy of persons responsible for the carrying out of the levies: sometimes the lineage head (if he was living in the same neighbourhood), then the neighbourhood head, and finally the hill-chief.

[62] Through the hill-chief, too (according to 68 per cent. of the informants), the cattle-chief obtained jars of milk from the Tutsi. Moreover, the latter had to provide (according to 88 per cent.) *inkuke*, cows kept by the beneficiary in order that milk could be consumed fresh.

These tributes were centralized in the royal residence of the district which was occupied by the king when he was travelling in the district. This residence was called *rugo*, the ordinary word meaning a compound dwelling. 95 per cent. of our informants remembered several names of royal district residences and 86 per cent. had not forgotten the name of the residence in the district where they used to live as children.

[64] Revenues of a district were either reserved to the king himself or were granted to one of the king's wives. In the first case, the residence was called *ingaligali* and was administered by a king's concubine (*umuja*, girl-servant).

Administrative officers collecting tributes, had the right to keep a part for their own benefit. According to 95 per cent. of our informants, the hill-chiefs had the right to deduct some agricultural produce, of which they could keep about a third. Then the land-chief—according to 99 per cent.—could also keep a part of it,

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

103

probably a little less than a third. For tribute labour, the hill-chief handed over to the residence the number of labourers requested but could have the others to work for himself.

According to respectively 92 and 91 per cent. of the Tutsi interviewed, neither the hill-chief nor the cattle-chief could deduct similar proportions from cattle dues. I have been told, however, that the cattle-chief required from the hill-chief more jars than the royal residence asked. It is very likely that the hill-chief imposed a similar obligation on those who had to bring the milk.

The land-chief acted as judge in disputes about rights over land between Hutu of his district.

Some places were not integrated into the district organization and were free from the cattle- and land-chief interferences. They were the domains belonging to *biru* and the royal funeral grounds. Biru, as we shall see later, were very important people keeping the secret traditions according to which the order of succession of the kings was determined, the ritual to be used in wars, the measures to be taken in times of famine, &c. In their privileged domains *biru* enjoyed powers similar to those of the king over Ruanda. 76 per cent. of our informants mention the name of a hill ruled by one *mwiru* (singular of *biru*) and 79 per cent. affirm that these domains were completely independent of the administrative chiefs.

The other privileged hills were those on which the royal corpses were laid. As the dead body of the king was believed to undergo different metamorphoses, it was not immediately buried, but mummified and left for a certain time in a wood, on the top of a hill. The corpse was watched by some chiefs and servants and finally buried. Even now 88 per cent. of our informants can mention the name of such a hill where a royal cemetery is to be found. One of the more renowned places is Rutare, not far from Kigali, which is mentioned by 71 per cent. 84 per cent. said that these hills were exempted from any tribute to the district residence.

3. ANALYSIS OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

Analysis of the different structures described here will be made from the point of view of the social function of these institutions. Social function is understood here as the contribution made by an institution, an association or a cultural trait to the working and the maintenance of a particular social structure. The contribution may

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128 be negative or positive. It is to be distinguished from the aim explicitly stated in the charter (written or not) of the institution or the purpose of the association consciously conceived by its members.

Take, for instance, some of the religious ceremonies of a particular group. Their aim as known and admitted by every member of the group may be to honour the ancestral spirits, whereas their function, of which perhaps nobody in the group is completely aware, is to manifest and reinforce the *esprit de corps* of the group. Or an association whose explicit purpose is some philanthropic activity may have as its function the giving of certain political control to a particular set of people. Aim and function are not necessarily different. It may happen that the aim expresses one of the ways in which the institution is significant from the viewpoint of the perpetuation of the particular organization existing in that society.¹²

(a) Fiscal function

647 It is not difficult to determine the main social function of the administrative structure of Ruanda. It was identical indeed with its explicitly recognized aim in that society. Aim and function were fiscal: the country had to provide its rulers with consumption goods.

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634 Tribute collecting was very methodically organized. Because of the division of the country into about seventy to ninety districts, the amount to be supplied was distributed in a way which did not favour one region more than another. Even parts of Ruanda which were far from the royal court had to provide dues for the local royal residence. The timing of the levies was also fortunate as the agricultural products were not demanded when the rulers needed them but at harvesting time. Tribute labour seems also to have been regularly required during the year.

641 Were these impositions heavy? It is very difficult to assess the proportion of foodstuff and labour required from each family head. I gathered from different informants that about a third of the labour of one individual was required from each family. It is important to stress the fact that only one person in each rugo had to fulfil this demand whereas there were usually several men able to give that tribute in each family.

¹² See Radcliffe-Brown, 1942, p. 12; 1940, p. 10; 1952, pp. 200 f; Maquet 1949a; 1954c, p. 65.

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It is still less easy to assess the relative importance of land and cattle taxes. Informants say that in the past they had to give a great deal, but such recollections of taxpayers do not mean very much. It is certain that if such a fiscal system has been maintained for numerous generations, exploitation has been kept within bearable limits. In Ruanda, as elsewhere, if the taxpayer is overburdened with dues and levies to such a point that he has not enough time and food left to go on producing, the source of impositions will dry up. Fifty years ago, after long practice, the Ruanda rulers had been able, it seems, by trial and error, to determine the exact amount of exploitation that the country could support. Yet if the group of taxpayers as such were not over-exploited, it is certain that some individuals in the group have been very heavily taxed merely because those who had the power to impose taxes wanted to avenge a particular offence.

The taxpaying group was not restricted to the Hutu stratum since some tributes were due on cattle holdings. Agricultural dues and tribute labour however, were entirely provided by Hutu and as they constituted about ninety per cent. of the population, the total amount of their contribution was considerably higher than that of other groups.

Those who received benefit from this system were, first of all, the king and his spouses. They did not have to come and live in a district residence to have the use of the produce collected in that district. Goods were sent to the court or wherever the king wanted them. Other beneficiaries were the chiefs in charge of the collection: land-, cattle-, and hill-chiefs. About two-thirds of the impositions on agricultural produce was deducted by them. Were they all Tutsi? No, answered the Tutsi interviewed. According to ninety-two per cent. of them a Hutu could be appointed land-chief. But he could not become a cattle-chief, according to ninety-one per cent. This is quite understandable, as the first had to deal with Hutu and the second with Tutsi. But were many Hutu in fact endowed with the profitable responsibilities of the land-chief or the hill-chief? 358 informants (eighty-six per cent.) were able to give the names of Hutu land-chiefs, but they mentioned only thirty-four different names. A Hutu land-chief, Ndarwubatae, was mentioned 180 times, another, Kanyonyomba, 109 times, and another, Segoré, ninety-seven times. As our informants were scattered throughout Ruanda it is very probable that the cases of

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that no other authority had the final say in such appointments. 661

The danger of having some chiefs becoming more and more independent of the central government was avoided by the mwami's power to dismiss anybody and also by the curious duality of chiefs in each district. Increasing the control of the central government over its subordinates seems to have been the function of that duality. Tensions arose between these two chiefs who were neighbours and who exerted their prerogatives in the same territory yet were independent of each other. The mwami was always kept well informed by each of these chiefs of the exactions or suspicious activities of the other. Moreover, both chiefs had the same subordinate, the hill-chief. Consequently the mwami could be sure that if by chance the two chiefs were in agreement, it was very likely that if their common subordinate had some difficulty with one of his superiors, he would attempt and often succeed in getting the other on to his side: *duobus litigantibus tertius gaudens*. In addition, as conflicts of power were unavoidable in such a situation, the chief had to resort to the mwami as judge. In that way the links of the dependence of both of them on the mwami were tightened. 634 649 622

In this analysis it is not suggested that the duality of chiefs was conceived and put into being by a certain mwami in order to fulfil what we regard here as its function. It is possible that it happened in that way. But even if nobody ever thought of reinforcing the royal power by this dual organization, it was nevertheless its function in Ruanda society.

(c) Social cohesion

I have mentioned that the hill-chief required dues and tributes not from the individual taxpayer but from the lineage head when possible, and the latter demanded it from the family head. This way of reaching the individual through his kin group and family group enhanced the importance of the descent principle of of kin solidarity. Even in Ruanda where the political organization had taken over so many functions from descent groups, the individual as such was not yet recognized in very important matters like the contributions to the maintenance of the rulers. In this interpretation, the kinship and the administrative structures promote the social cohesion of the group as a whole. 651 602 571

To provide the central government with regular revenues, to 000

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Finally, the cattle that the warriors of an army could personally effectively dispose of were also considered as army cattle. There was a distinction between cows obtained from an overlord and *imbata*. Warriors' cattle, however, were linked to the army differently from herdsmen's: only the cattle of the latter were submitted to the different taxes I am going to examine now. 705 422

Each army had its own grazing grounds, particularly for the *nyambo*, *mabara*, and the chief's cattle as the other kinds were usually kept by those who had usufruct rights over them.¹⁸

(d) *Tribute due by the army*

Besides the personal services mentioned earlier (training, watching at the border, defending the country, foreign expeditions), each army had to provide the king, the court, and its chief with other benefits. 701 651

On a new king's accession, each patrilineage of the army had to give him a cow. This gift (*indabukirano*) showed the recognition of the authority of the person to whom it was offered. At the beginning of each reign there was also a ceremony called *murundo*, during which all the cattle of an army were numbered and presented to the king. A certain proportion was retained by him. Cattle raided by the stick-bearers (*abakoni*) of the army belonged to the king, according to eighty-seven per cent. of our informants.

Warriors and herdsmen of each army had the duty of keeping in order a part of the royal residence (*incyubagaba inkike*), according to ninety-three per cent. of our informants.

Each army was obliged to keep at the court a few cows to provide the king with fresh milk (*inkuke*). This herd was called *intamara* and was looked after by an officer, *umutware w'intamara*. According to ninety-eight per cent. of our informants, to provide *inkuke* was the duty of the herdsmen's section only. Besides they had to deliver daily to the court a certain number of milk jars (*igicuba*), according to ninety-nine per cent. A very important majority of Tutsi interviewed (eighty-nine per cent.) said that herdsmen had to supply the court with the necessary slaughter animals (*indwanyi*). Finally, each army had to provide the court with young steers used for divination purposes (*amamana*). [787] According to fifty-five per cent. of our informants these had to be

¹⁸ On this section, see Kagame, 1952.

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701 provided by both sections of the army, according to forty-one
651 per cent. by the herdsmen only.

All these services or dues were required only from Tutsi and from Hutu possessing cattle. Other Hutu replaced them by tributes consisting of agricultural produce (said ninety-two per cent. of our informants) and Twa by products from pottery or hunting.

701 The army-chief, too, could claim several dues from the army to his profit. When appointed to his charge, he was offered a cow (*indabukirano*) as a present recognizing his authority. According to a few informants, that present could consist of hoes or sheep for those who had no cattle, but ninety-two per cent. said such a present was necessarily a cow. As the king, the army-chief, when he was nominated to his office, had the right to have the cattle of his army numbered, presented to him, and a certain percentage offered to him (*murundo*). Ninety-six per cent. of our informants say that the presentation was always made at the same time as the recognition was offered. But certain informants indicate that the army-chief could not require the numbering to be done before a certain time had elapsed since the numbering for his predecessor. Moreover, according to eighty-three per cent. of our informants, the army-chief had to obtain the mwami's permission before summoning a numbering meeting. The cows kept by the army-chief were put at his effective disposal according to all informants. They were entrusted to the army herdsmen (according to eighty-eight per cent.), to army herdsmen only (according to thirty-five per cent.), and to them and to *inkomamashyi*, herdsmen alien to the army (according to fifty-three per cent.).

An army member, on certain occasions, principally when wanting to obtain a favour, used to give his chief a cow called *ituro*.

701 Finally, the army-chief could claim a certain part of the loot collected during an expedition in which his army had participated (*intorano*: cattle raided). Moreover, if the expedition had been a brilliant success, he received as a reward from the mwami a gift of several dozen cows.

(e) Advantages for the members

701 When in difficulty army members could ask for their chief's
703 protection which could not be refused unless they had previously been disloyal to their chief. A chief could prevent a member of his

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642 their immediate superiors without endangering the principle of authority and social discipline.

701 From the point of view of social cohesion between the different
564 strata of the population, it should be mentioned also that Tutsi,
571 Hutu, and Twa were affiliated to the same army. But as the last two groups had only a secondary and not a fighting role in war, one cannot think that their association with the army was extremely important in this respect.

(d) *Redistribution of wealth*

701 Within Ruanda society, the main function of the army was that
651 it acted as an agency for the redistribution of wealth, i.e. consumption goods and cattle.

Fresh milk provided by the *inkuke*, milk brought in jars, agricultural produce, spoils of the chase, pottery, butcher's meat, and steers utilized for divination purposes were consumption goods. Included in this category was statute labour (building and repairing royal enclosures). Most of these goods could not be kept for a long time and had thus to be provided regularly. This kind of tribute is characteristic of cultures which have neither a sufficient knowledge of the means of storing perishable goods nor a standard value of exchange permitting the dues to be collected in 'money'.

The beneficiary was the king. In this respect the army fulfilled a function very similar to that of the administrative structure.

556 A second category of wealth redistributed through the channel
422 of the army was cattle. They constituted a special category of goods because of the particular significance of their possession in Ruanda society. Cattle, whatever their economic value, had a unique prestige value. One was as proud to be the owner of a beautiful herd of long-horned cows as, in some other societies, to possess race-horses. During the European Middle Ages, a noble had to have some landed property. Without going down in public estimation and losing his status, he could not have exchanged his real estate for gold and other goods of that kind even if they were 'worth' much more. Cattle in Ruanda were also noblemen's property. A Tutsi who did not own any cattle was still a Tutsi but a very poor one, dangerously slipping down in the social stratification, whereas a Hutu who possessed cattle was very near the aristocratic group and not infrequently could marry a Tutsi girl.

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The emphasis put on the social prestige bestowed by cattle ownership has sometimes led to the underestimation of a second meaning of their possession. Effective disposal of cattle was the main institutionalized means of achieving power. It certainly enables a person to secure labour and agricultural produce through the clientage structure. And at the present time, the disposal of cows gives more advantages than could be obtained by their counterpart in money. 556
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Consequently, the redistribution of cattle operated through the army was extremely important and had much wider social implications than the dues paid in commodities. 701
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Here, again, the mwami was the main beneficiary of the bovine tributes concentrated through the army. On his accession he received one cow as a recognition gift from every lineage, and a certain proportion of the cows presented at the numbering; after a successful campaign, the 'bow of the army' (cattle seized upon by the *abakoni*) was his. The king usually kept only the bare ownership of that cattle and granted its usufruct to important chiefs who then became his clients.

The army-chief was also much favoured in army cattle dues. He received a recognition gift on entering his office, a part from the herds presented and numbered, a certain proportion of the private booty of the warriors, rewards extended by the king after a victorious expedition, and gifts offered by army members. He had the effective disposal of these cows as long as he was in charge, that is to say, up to his death if he was not dismissed. He thus controlled a considerable amount of cattle, symbols of prestige and instruments of power. He could build up a wide clientage among army herdsmen as it was particularly among them that he chose his clients. But he could also grant his cows to non-army members (*inkomamashya*), who then became army members. [55A]

In what measure was the ordinary army member affected by cattle? Firstly, whether warrior or herdsman, he was deprived of some of his own cows by the different payments to the king and the army-chief. Secondly, a member of the herdsmen's section could receive some cows as a client of the army-chief. Was it a real advantage? The question may be raised as the herdsman had to give cows to the chief. Obviously, there was an advantage only if he received the usufruct of more cows than he had given. This means that only a certain number of army members were very likely to

701 be favoured. This was a kind of redistribution of wealth among the
 651 lineages of the army made according to the preferences of the
 422 army-chief. Thirdly, the warriors as such did not receive cows
 from the army-chief (but they could be at the same time warriors
 and herdsmen). Their only privilege as warriors was to loot
 privately after the *abakoni* had laid hold on the 'bow of the army'.
 Moreover, if they had shown any particular gallantry, the mwami
 or the army-chief rewarded them with a gift of a few cows.

(e) *Protection*

701 When compared with the considerable benefits in cattle that the
 571 king and the army-chief derived from the military structure, the
 advantages of ordinary army members, particularly the warriors,
 seem to have been very meagre. The army tribute in goods and
 services were compensated for in a different way by the protection
 extended to his subordinates by the army-chief.

This protection could be asked for and received in all the
 difficult circumstances of life without being limited to any par-
 ticular kind of circumstances. An instance frequently mentioned
 by our informants was the army-chief's support to one of his
 subordinates who was a party in a lawsuit. If the protection of a
 man of high standing appeared useful or necessary in such a
 situation one must suppose that judicial decisions were not taken
 only on the case's own merits, but that the respective power of the
 two protectors was weighed by the judge.

The army-chief's protection was diffuse and general, not
 limited to a few cases clearly defined. We have already come across
 such a characteristic of the superior's protection in respect of the
 chiefs of the administrative hierarchy. This suggests that power
 relations were emphasized in Ruanda and that the rights and
 properties of isolated men, that is to say those not identified in
 any respect with a powerful one, were insecure.

[691] The judicial role of the army-chief must be related to his
 function of protection. In the disputes between two members of
 his army, he exercised a kind of paternal jurisdiction, as did any
 Ruanda authority. In contentions between members of different
 armies, the fact that the question was settled by the army-chiefs
 concerned suggests more a compromise in which each chief acted
 as a representative of one of the litigants, than a judgement based
 on pre-established norms.

THE PROBLEM OF TUTSI DOMINATION

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One may wonder whether this demographic factor appeared to the Tutsi as a purely natural fact completely beyond their control, or whether they tried to maintain that fortunate proportion. We know that they made it difficult for a Hutu to enter their caste, but it does not seem that they favoured a restriction in the number of their group and an increase in the Hutu group. They shared with the Hutu a very high valuation of fertility and appreciated families with numerous offspring. It should not be forgotten that if a decrease in population would have contributed towards giving each member of the Tutsi caste a greater share in the wealth of the group in an imperceptible degree, for the individual, to have many children was a way to obtain also a greater share of wealth in a very perceptible manner. I suspect that the latter consideration was much clearer than the former for any Tutsi. It is also questionable if the bringing about of the first situation would have been psychologically compatible with the attitude of self-assertion of a domineering caste of warriors. At all events the demographic situation of Ruanda has been a factor favouring, even making possible, the economic exploitation of a majority by a minority. [68]

A third factor which made the second so crucial was the type of economy of the country. Because of the relatively poor soil, the irregularity of the rains, and the methods of cultivation, there was not a very considerable surplus. Having to subsist on a very limited national income, the rulers had to cope with an economic problem in the fundamental meaning of the term—that is, they had to organize a way of life with means insufficient to meet needs. This emphasized the capital importance of compulsory labour and tributes, of regular and efficient collection, and of an apportionment of levies which did not let any prospective taxpayer escape. [65]

A limited character of national resources is certainly a circumstance adverse to the centralization of a government. Indeed, a very centralized government needs a complex machinery: agencies, army, messengers, civil servants, local delegates, &c. Such an organization had been built up in Ruanda in spite of the small economic surplus. [42]

A biological element also has been significant in the establishment and maintenance of Tutsi power in Ruanda. This was the difference in physical appearance between Tutsi and Hutu. Whatever may be the objectivity of physical caste characteristics, [82]